THE LIBERATOR

"COMRADES LET US ALL UNITE."

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THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

Its Uprising; Its Battle for Liberty; Its Defeat. The Awful Slaughters that Followed. Still Its Spirit is not Dead.

Within a few days radical and revolutionary societies in America and Europe will celebrate the uprising of the working people of Paris, France, thirty-five years ago. Some Americans, especially of the younger generation, may ask: "Why, what have we to do with that outbreak of the French working people of thirty-five years ago?"

It is to make the fact plain that the uprising of what is known as the Paris Commune is of deep and lasting significance, affecting the interests of the producing classes of all lands, that these annual celebrations are held.

Hence, we ask the reader to go back with us thirty-five years and stand again in the streets of Paris on that eventful 18th of March, 1871. What do we see? A people in revolt, not only against the power that had governed France, not alone a protest against the surrender of the French armies to the victorious Germans, or because of the fears of the French people that the empire was about to be re-established. No, it was not these fears that stirred the French heart, it was a question far more profound, it was a movement far more sweeping in its scope and nature than either of these.

It was a protest against the iniquitous political, social and industrial systems which prevailed. The Commune overthrew for a time the established institutions and attempted to establish a social and industrial republic based upon the inherent rights of man. It was a protest of the robbed against the robbers, of the poor against their oppressors; it was a revolt against the continuation of privilege, fraud, vice, crime and war.

It would make this article too long to attempt to recount all the details transpiring from the 18th of March when the government troops made a desperate but unsuccessful attempt to recover the munitions of war which had fallen into the hands of the soldiers of the Commune, to the 28th day of May, when the Commune was overpowered.

It was owing mainly to the devotion of the women of the Commune that the French National guard was induced to fraternize with the people.

From the 18th of March, when the Commune came into power by carrying the election overwhelmingly against the terms of peace, signed by the French and German governments, thus ending the Franco-Prussian war, until the 28th day of May following, when the last barricade had been carried, this intervening time was replete with acts of heroism, devotion and sacrifice seldom paralleled in modern history.

On the 29th day of March, the Commune was formally declared; from that time forward the difficulty, responsibility and care, reconstruction and reorganization, devolved upon the councils of the Commune. They had to guard always against the plots and counterplots of the government of Thiers, which had been established at Versailles, but at last, owing to the treachery from within and traitors from without, together with the connivance of the German army officers with the French, the Commune was betrayed and the gates of Paris were opened, stealthily in the night, and the inhuman monsters from Versailles poured into the city. From that time forth for seven long days and nights the awful scenes of butchery went on uninterrupted, until the soldiers seemed, from sheer exhaustion, to cease their butchery.

When the last barricade had been carried, and the last armed insurrectionist had been hunted to death in the Cemetery of Pere la Chaise, the next morning's sun rose on a city's streets strewn with dead. In Sortory, twenty thousand human beings were penned up like wild beasts of the forests, men, women with their wailing babes in their arms, little children who clung to their mothers' skirts in terror and were penned in and exposed alike where the cannon belched forth its awful fire of grape and canister into the quivering flesh of this helpless, unarmed, defenceless mass of humanity! Not one remained alive! The shambles, the same as that established in "bloody Sortory" were established in different parts of the city and the same scenes enacted and re-enacted. Squads of men, women and children were forced to march bare-headed through the streets under the scorching rays of the sun, manacled together with heavy chains under a guard of military brutes who, if the least weariness was shown on the part of the prisoners, proceeded to shoot and stab them. Women were ravished and unborn babes were torn from their mothers' bodies and carried aloft on these soldiers' bayonets, the sick were taken from their beds and slaughtered to help swell the gorey list. Great chains were wrapped around hundreds and they were drawn together until they stood a quivering mass of humanity; then they were shot into a pulp. From the stage of a single theater, twelve thousand persons were condemned to death; they were called up and made to show their hands. If they showed those of a laboring man, he was immediately condemned to death. Every torture, every indignity and every cruelty, born of the brains of brutes, were inflicted upon those who had enrolled themselves under the banner of the Commune.

To best understand the aims and objects of the Commune, we will briefly state what it accomplished during its short existence.

Paris was a city at that time of over 2,000,000 inhabitants. It was just over a war with a foreign power. The terms of peace were considered infamous by a majority of the people. The victorious army was camped juts outside the gates. Its inhabitants were reduced to dire distress by the war; they established workshops to relieve its distress.

This is but a glimpse of the condition of Paris at the time of the inauguration of the Commune. One of the first acts of the Commune was to burn to ashes the terrible engine of death of the first revolution, the guillotine. This was done that it might show to the world that its mission was peace and good will on earth. It cast into the river Seine the Column ven Dome, the monument of so many bloody wars under Napoleon the first. The treasuries in the banks were guarded by guards appointed by the Commune and not one dollar was touched, neither were the homes of the rich from which they had fled in terror, imagining, doubtless, that the scenes of the great Revolution were to be re-enacted; but such was not the case. The Commune had set themselves to the task of relieving the distress of the people by establishing workshops.

The police force was disbanded, and during the ten weeks of its reign, acts against personal rights or property were almost unknown.

We deny the allegations of the newspapers that the Commune was guilty of acts of wilful, malicious wantonness.

It was not officially responsible for the shooting of any of the hostages. The assertion is also false that the Communists destroyed public buildings. Fredric Harrison well asked, "If the Commune wished to destroy Paris why did they not do so? And why was it that the richest quarters of the city were left untouched?"

The Commune failed in its high aims and purposes; it had to contend against odds too great to be overcome, but the grand, high and noble purposes for which it fought are still the living issues of today in all lands. The thirty-five years which have elapsed since that time have witnessed wonderful changes and growth in our conceptions of economic justice in society. We are travelling rapidly toward that goal for which those, our comrades, fought and died. Those grand principles will be realized and enjoyed ere long.

L. E. P.

REVOLUTION.

These verses were written and read by S. R. Wilson at the celebration of the 14th anniversary of the Paris Commune, held by the groups of the International Working People's Association, in Music Hall, San Francisco, March 19, 1885.

They say she is dead, the Commune is dead,
She was thrust to the heart by the red hand of Thiers:
And never again shall she raise her wild head,
Or flaunt gory locks at your white-livered fears.

They say she is dead; she was sabered and shot,
Round Mont Martre and Pere la Chaise,
And with her rich, rich blood, that the soldier shed not;
The headsman has nourished the green of your bays.

Now the prince drinks his wine without fear,
And Capital counteth his treasure in peace,
And the priest blesses both with a confident leer,
While the slave toileth on for increase.

And the wain of the world jogs on as before,
The rich are merry and the poor are sad,
The beggar dies at the great king's door,
But the king still lives and his heart is glad.

For a verity now we know she is dead,
Else how could the good old times revive?
For were she living her earthquake tread
Would scatter the honeyless hornets hive.

Go revel awhile, ye coward knaves,
With the wantons your lust have made,
Be drunken once more on the blood of slaves,
That are slain in your shambles of trade.

Go dally a space with crown and sword,
Those toys of the old effect regime—
And tally once more your stolen hoard,
And list your priest's assuring theme.

But know ve this, that I am not dead,
The spirit of revolt can never die.
Upon ten thousand battlefields I've bled,
And with my martyr'd slain did lie.

But every soul your bloody steel set free,
My spirit hath absorbed into its own;
So now I'm the sum, the majesty,
Of every rebel that the world hath known.

No weak-kneed slave has ever knelt
Beneath the master's frown and thong
But in his wounded soul has felt
My burning hate of rule and wrong.

No man has ever struck for right,
But struck for justice and for me;
No dark soul ever prayed for light,
And love, and truth, but worshipped me.

I and my worshipers are one,
In life I live in them to fight;
In death they live in me alone,
Still warring for eternal right.

I am not dead, nor yet asleep,
Nor tardy, tho' my steps seem slow;
Nor feeble from the centuries' sweep,
Nor cold, tho' chill the north winds blow.

I'm all alive, and wide awake;
But now no more in France alone
My voice to-day makes all men quake,
Who fill, support, or guard a throne.

My legions muster in all lands,
From field, from factory, and from mine.
The builders of the world join hands
Across the continents and brine.

On eevry sea my pennon flies,
On every hight my flag's unfurled;
My suns on all horizons rise,
My arms engirle all the world.

But I must rally gathering hosts,
And train the feeble hands to fight;
And weld the nations, link by link,
In chains of adamatine might.

And when this unison is wrought,
So all the slaves may strike as one;
Then shall the final field be fought,
The Universal Victory won.

But not with forts and barricades,
Phalanx, and charge, and solid square;
Not Gatling guns, Damascus blades,
Or tools or tactics men call "fair."

I'll meet them in their homes at night,
By day in mart, and bourse, and hall;
My trusty weapon, Dynamite—
My tactics death to tyrants all.

No beat of drums, or bugle note,
Shall speak my coming to the fray;
And not a flag shall flaunt or float
Above my secret camp that day.

I've felt the tiger's hunger pangs
His patience and his stealth I know;
I have his sinews and his fangs
To seize and rend my ancient foe.

I've learned from many a direful yield,
No more an open war to wage;
Or braggart like to scour the field,
And overt cast the battle gage.

They call me coward, that I smite
Murderers, robbers in the back;
And that I wait propititious night,
To trail the tyrant's blood-stained track.

But know good masters, I but mete
The measure that you gave to him:
And by the scales you weighed our wheat,
I'll heft those husks and tares of thine.

An hungered we have asked for bread
Begged of our own from the heartless thief;
"Go forth, eat grass," you taunting said,
And we left your presence without relief.

To flavor our crust we asked for meat,
And so escape your thrifty slaughter;
But your lecherous priest from his altar seat,
Spoke the gospel of "bread and water."

All the good that your lives have known,
We gave without stint or cavil;
Our lives we laid on the steps of your throne,
Yours wear our sweat, our tears and travail.

For which you rendered death and hate,
And toil, and bonds, and prison bars,
The galleys and Siberian fate,
With calloused hands, bent backs and scars.

A choice of death you never gave,
Nor yet a chance to flee the rod;
But now like crouching curs you crave
Mercy from me, and men and God.

I'll show the mercy you have shown,
Through ages of high-handed wrong;
My heart shall be the black flint stone,
As inexorable as strong.

And tho' your suppliant tears shall flood
The earth like briny seas around;
And tho' the rivers of your blood
Should burst the broadest ocean's bound.

I'll not abate one paltry jot
Of justice from youh crimson guilt;
Nor from the damning record blot
One transcript of the blood you've spilt.

Until the human race is free,
On every foot breadth of the world;
Until sweet peace abides with me,
And all the flags but white are furled,

I am not dead, I am not dead,
I live a life intense divine;
Yours were the days forever fled,
But all the morrows shall be mine.

—S. Robert Wilson.

THE STREET CARS AND THE PEOPLE.

If there is a street car service on the face of the earth that is utterly abominable, that spot is Chicago. The old rotten boxes into which the people are crowded like sardines, are a nuisance and a disgrace. The street car companies have been playing a bluff game on the people of Chicago for a long time, claiming that some legislature, some where way back in the middle of the last century, gave them a right to own and possess the streets for 99 years, so whenever anything was said about compelling them to give the public measurably decent service for their money, they have led out the little 99 year joker from up their sleeves, thus assuming to have a grip on the public. They had a tool by the name of Grosscup on the bench who rendered such decisions as the companies wished, but the supreme court of the United States, hearing the popular clamour of the people, is attempting to throw a few tubs to the whales in its endeavor to save the ship of state, and its curb on the Chicago Traction Company is one of them. It practically fires the traction robbers out of the streets, bag and baggage. If there is not too much graft and humbug, the people of this city will in a comparatively short time be riding in cars free from germs of disease, and in some comfort for their money's worth.

All subscribers finding a *blue mark* on the wrapper of their paper, *must renew immediately* or their names will be dropped from the list.

THE ANARCHIST SPEECHES

In No. 16 of The Liberator were commenced the publication of the speeches of the Anarchists, delivered in court in Chicago on Oct. 7, 8 and 9, 1887, when asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon them. These speeches are their reply. It was their last message to the world and must prove interesting and instructive reading to the most prejudiced as well as the sympathetic. Instructive to the prejudiced-minded, because no person capable of clear reasoning powers can read these speeches and lay them down, and then, allowing the innermost recesses of his heart to speak, he must say, "Those men were innocent of the crime for which they suffered death." They were victims of class hatred.

ALBERT R. PARSONS' SPEECH.

(Continued from last week.)

What are the real facts of that Haymarket tragedy? Mayor Harrison, of Chicago, has caused to be published his opinion, because, mark you, this is all a matter of conjecture. It is only presumed that I throw the bomb. They have only assumed that some one of these men threw the bomb. It is only an inference that any of us had anything to do with it. It is not a fact, and it is not proven. It is merely an opinion. Your honor admits that we did not perpetrate the deed, or know who did it, but that we, by our speeches, instigated some one else to do so. Now, let us see the other side of this case. Mayor Harrison of Chicago, has caused to be published in the New York *World*, and which was copied in the *Tribune* of this city, this statement: "I do not believe there was any intention on the part of Spies and those men to have bombs thrown at the Haymarket. If so, why was there but one thrown? It was just as easy for them to throw a dozen or fifty, and to throw them in all parts of the city, as it was to have thrown one. And again, if it was intended to throw bombs that night, the leaders would not have been there at all, in my opinion. Like commanders in chief, they would have been in a safe place. No, it cannot be shown that there was any intention on the part of these individuals to kill that particular man who was killed at that Haymarket meeting." Now, your honor, this is the mayor of Chicago. He is a sensible man. He is in a position to know what he is talking about. He has first-rate opportunities to form an intelligent opinion, and his opinion is worthy of respect. He knows more about this thing than the jury that sat in this room, for he knows—I suspect that the mayor knows—of some of the methods by which most of this so-called evidence and testimony was manufactured. I don't charge it, but possibly he has had some intimation of it, and if he has he knows more about this case and the merits of this case than did the jury who sat here. There is too much at stake to take anything for granted. Your honor can't afford to do that.

Is it nothing to destroy the lives of seven men? Are the rights of the poor of no consequence? Is it nothing, that we should regard it so lightly, as a mere pastime? That is why I stand here at such length to present this case to you, that you may understand it; that you may have our side of the question as well as that of the prosecution. Now, this opinion of Mayor Harrison was based upon his personal observation on the ground at the Haymarket meeting. Mark you, he was there, and this is his opinion, both as to the character of the speeches and the deportment both of the speakers and of the audience, on the night of the 4th of May, in which opinion Inspector Bonfield himself concurred with the mayor: that it was a peaceable meeting, calling for no interference to within ten minutes of the unlawful order to disperse the same by the guardians of the peace and the preservers of order. Now, the two witnesses for the prosecution, who are they? Waller and Schroeder. Those were the State's informers, called "spealers," upon whom the State attempted to base the proof and charged the conspiracy against us. Have they made out a case on the testimony of these men? Let us take the veidence for a moment. These men were the first witnesses called, and they absolutely and completely negative the idea, and not alone the idea, but the fact itself, that the collision of the Haymarket was ever contemplated at that meeting, mush less provided for by any perpetrator whatever. Now, that stands as a fact in the testimony here. It was not brought about by any person or by any individual, or by any member of the so-called armed group, and your honor won't claim that we have not a right to have an armed group. Your honor will not say it is unlawful to have an armed group if we want it. As I understand the law and the constitution, if we want on organized group we have the right to it. The constitution defines that treason against the government consists in the fact, only in the fact, of an overt act proven, indisputably proven, by at least two persons. You say in your remarks upon the sentence that there can be no doubt but what this was an unlawful combination. Well, suppose it was. If I am a member of an unlawful combination, am I to be hung for that? Are seven men to be exterminated for that? Are there not surely some degrees in punishment? Because I belong to an unlawful combination am I to be put to death? Why, that would be cruel. That would be a verdict of hate. That would be a penalty of vengeance, not of justice, and it is not proven; it has not been alleged, even, nor has it been shown, that I was a member of an unlawful combination. That question has not been put in consideration in this court; it has not been here to be established by this jury whether or not I am now or ever was a member of an unlawful combination.

* * *

Now, then, I want to call your attention to what I regard as the origin of this bomb at the Haymarket. I believe it was instigated by eastern monopolists to produce public sentiment against popular movements, especially the eight hour movement then pending, and that some of the Pinkertons were their tools to execute the plan. To sustain this accusation I submit to you the following facts: Just exactly four days before the grand strike for eight hours throughout the United States, and only one week before the Haymarket tragedy, the New York *Times*, one of the leading organs of railroad, bank, coal, telegraph and telephone monopoly, published the following notice, under date of April 26, 1886, in an editorial on the condition of the market and the causes of the existing decline and the panicky symptoms which existed. The New York Times says: "The strike question is, of course, the dominant one, and is disagreeable in a variety of ways. A short and easy way to settle it is urged in some quarters, which is to indict

(Continued on Page 3.)

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ABOUT MY TRIP EAST.

I expect to leave Chicago in a few days on a lecturing tour. It may be that The Liberator will have to be suspended during my absence as there is no one here to take charge of it, but of this we are not quite sure. At any rate, it will only be for a few weeks. My address while in New York City will be at 85 E. 4th Street, where I wish to meet friends regarding meetings, etc.

Lucy E. Parsons.

Some of the Comrades are unsparing in their sneering criticisms of The Liberator: "It simply contains a lot of 'old stories,' it is not conducted with ability, etc., etc." It is so easy to criticize those who are doing the hard work, so much easier than to do the work oneself!

On March 12th Susan B. Anthony passed from this life. In her death America has lost one of its famous women. Miss Anthony was a woman of wonderful energy, a fine orator, a lucid writer. At the ripe age of 86 she was still active until within a few weeks of her death. She gave 60 years of her long life to the cause of woman suffrage.

It is unnecessary for us to agree with her in the field of reform which she mapped out for herself and so untireingly devoted all the best years of her life to; we can at any rate admire the sterling qualities of the woman herself. If the economic question had been a factor in American life at the beginning of Miss Anthony's career, she might have devoted her life to that cause, for she was a progressive thinker.

ECONOMICS BASIS OF CRIME.

If anything is known as to crime and punishment, it is that punishments have little or no effect to lessen crimes. Were not this the case, the sea of blood that has been spilled, the oceans of tears that have been shed, the wails and sighs and sufferings of the endless train of endless victims that has ever been moving onward to gallows and block and prison pen, long ago would have banished crime from the world.

But while lawyers and judges and preachers have been sentencing and punishing, thinkers and philosophers have learned something of the brain of man and have collected some facts upon which lawmakers and judges may some day be wise enough to act.

No one knows what effect a hanging may have, either to cause or to prevent homicide. Some believe that the brutality of the state breeds murders, while others maintain, with the law that terrorizes men into respect for life, or at least into fear of punishment and vengeance.

Although the effects of punishment for crime cannot absolutely be demonstrated yet it is a matter of proof that more so-called crimes are committed in hard times than in good times; more are committed in winter than in summer; more are committed when bread is scarce than when it is plenty. No one can determine how many or how few crimes will result from a hanging, but they can estimate almost exactly the number of robberies that will result from the given rise in the price of bread. The physical needs and conditions of man have been shown to have a direct bearing upon his actions, and this rule affects all the manifestations alike of his body and his mind.

As the number of wild animals depends upon the fruitfulness of the year, so human reproduction and all the manifestations of life can be traced to the same cause. If robbery and burglary are prevalent, there is no certainty that these can be diminished by increasing penalties and stimulating the vigilance of the police; but it is perfectly sure that increasing wages and furnishing occupation for men will materially diminish the number who gain a precarious living by force and pillage.—Clarence S. Darrow, in the Culturist.

FARMERS WAKING UP!

The national convention of the Farmers' Union has openly championed the principles of union labor, by adopting resolutions indorsing the strike of the International Typographical Union for the eight hour day.

This step has proved to the skeptical that the agriculturists are engaged in bona-fide trades union organization movement. Whatever doubt at first remained has been dispelled and the unionists are pleased at the open avowal of labor-union principles which has been made by the farm workers. They say they are ready to reciprocate in every manner possible.

This organization movement among the farmers has spread rapidly within the past year. The big national convention which just closed at Dallas, Texas, has shown a great increase in members.

The resolutions adopted not only provided for the use of the union label printing by the branches of the organization, but that the members should purchase only union label products.

MOYER AND HAYWOOD.

Heavy Guard for Mine Chiefs.

Caldwell, Idaho, March 13.—Under a heavy guard, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, who have been indicted for the murder of former Gov. Steunenberg, were removed today from the state prison in Boise to the Canyon county jail in this city against the protests of Gov. Gooding. To forestall any efforts at rescue, which he believed might be attempted, Sheriff Nicholas has sworn in dozens of deputy sheriffs, who will patrol the jail night and day while the federation officials are detained here. If this protection is not sufficient Gov. Gooding will call out the militia.

Closely watch these preparations and you can see what capital is preparing to do with these, its victims.

A REAL SACRIFICE.

Detroit, Mich, March 4, 1906.
Dear Comrade Lucy E. Parsons:

In response to your call about supporting financially The Liberator Publishing Group to continue the publication of The Liberator, I regret to say I can't do more than to send 50 cents in stamps. I would do more, but as I am after a lost twelve weeks' strike, you may picture to yourself the position I am now with my family.

Fraternally yours,
M. Philips.

If The Liberator had a few more subscribers on its list who are willing to make some such sacrifices as this comrade does, it would be but little trouble to issue the paper.

PHOTOS.

Subscribers write: "Can you tell me where I can obtain photos of the five Anarchists, executed in Chicago in 1887." We have received quite a number of inquiries for photos of our comrades. If we receive one hundred orders for the photos, we will have them made, all on one large plate, beautifully mounted, as we have excellent photos of all the comrades. The price of the photos, postage included, will be 50 cents. Orders will be received at Liberator office. If one hundred orders are not received, the money will be returned to the sender.

We have already received several orders.

LABOR'S LONG STRUGGLE WITH CAPITAL.

No. 15.

In our article (No. 14) we endeavored to show the terrible events which transpired in this country during the great railroad strike of 1877 and what a people will do who have not had the spirit of resistance crushed out of them by the long, slow grind of the factory system. In this number we shall give some of the results of the quickened thought which that great struggle called forth. The principles set forth by some of the foremost thinkers of that time were just as advanced as many which we find promulgated today and shows that we are only attempting to reach the goal mapped out for us long ago.

During the great strike, many unions sprang into existence which were hitherto unknown, and also organizations for the purpose of discussing purely economic questions. The best known among the latter was the International Labor Union of America. This organization had branches in seventeen states of the union and did much agitation and propaganda work. To show the thorough grasp this organization had of the economic situation, we give its declaration of principles in full.

"The safety of society depends upon the equality of rights and opportunities of all its members; and whenever, from any cause, the freedom of a part of the community is endangered, either in their political or economic rights, it behooves the people to devise methods by which the usurpations of the powerful shall be overthrown, and the fullest freedom of the humblest be maintained. The political rights of a people are less sacred than their economic and to prevent a class from possessing all the mater advantages of a progressive civilization is as much an act of tyranny as to prevent them from exercising their right of self government.

The victory over "divine right" rulership must be supplanted by a victory over property-right rulers, for there can be no government of the people, by the people and for the people, where the many are dependent upon the few for existnce. Men will sacrifice their liberties for their lives, and those who control the industries of a people can and do control their votes. The wage-workers of the world are forced by their poverty into deadly competition with each other. Race is thrown into antagonism with race and nations of peoples are driven by their necessities to retard the progress of their fellows. In this remorseless warfare upon human welfare, the holiest ties of life are destroyed. The child of 16 is made to compete with women of thirty; the boy of nineteen with the man of forty.

Children are driven from their homes and school, and men are compelled to live in compulsory idleness upon the paltry earnings of their wives and little ones.

The achievements of liberty are the epochs of history. Villiany engages serfdom and chattel slavery—the past systems of labor—have forever disappeared. The laborers of the civilized world have gained the right to starve.

It now rests with them to secure the right of possession to the products of their labor.

The liberty of labor is the hope of the world, and that liberty can only be obtained by the solidarity of labor upon labor measures. We therefore, in the interest of a common brotherhood, declare:

1st. That the wage system is a despotism, under which the wage-worker is forced to sell his labor at such price and such conditions as the employer of labor shall dictate.

2nd. That political liberty cannot long continue under economic bondage; for he who is forced to sell his labor or starve, will sell his franchise when the same alternative is presented.

3rd. That civilization means the diffusion of knowledge and the better distribution of wealth; and the system of labor tends to extemes of culture and ignorance, influence and penury.

4th. That the first step towards the emancipation of labor can only be achieved by the organization of laborers into a great protective propaganda of the principles enunnciated in the foregoing declaration of principles."

We find by studying the above pronunciments, that 29 years ago there were men then active in the movement in America who understood the economic basis of the labor movement. From that day to the present time, we have been slowly creeping along toward our final emancipation from the bondage of capitalism, our steps are slow and halting, our courage at times almost gone, but so long as we keep our eyes fixed upon the eternal star of liberty our goal will surely be reached.

L. E. P.

(Continued next week.)

TRIP EAST.

To Comrades and Friends:—

It is my intention to go East on an agitation trip in a week or two. I will deliver lectures upon the following subjects:

"Curse of Child Labor."
"The Commune."
"Anarchism Defined."
"The Industrial Workers of the World; their aims and object."

Comrades will please arrange meetings and communicate with me as soon as possible.

WHAT IS ANARCHY?

VII.

In the preceding chapters we have seen refuted, by experience, the familiar assumptions that government is necessary to protect the individual against either violence by other individuals or by communities external to that in which he lives (I). We have seen that there is the minimum of domestic wrong-doing where there is also the minimum of government, (II), while these very societies which originate in wrong-doing, as gangs of robbers and pirates, have been the first to perceive their need of laws and magistrates, which they instituted accordingly (III). We have seen that those communities which had little government have been more successful in resisting foreign invasion than those which had much (IV), and also more successful in retaliating invasion, though here the advantage of approximate anarchy over strong and thoroughly organized government is less marked than in cases of purely defensive war (V). That the predaceous communities instituted government sooner than others, because government is necessary to the business of plundering other communities, while it is not necessary, nor advantageous, for defensive purposes, appears a plausible inference; and would make plunder, foreign or domestic, the only task to which government is adapted—the true motive for its existence; though protection must be offered as an inducement to the non-predaceous majority, who, in any community, have to bear the burden (VI).

The suggestion that government really does protect, and that those communities in which the persons against whom protection is most needed abound were the first to find this out on account of the greater need, derives little support either from probability, observation, or experiment. Not from probability, for in a community of pirates and conquerors the most rapacious are exactly those who become kings, nobles, and magistrates, while, if the purpose were to stop rapine, these offices would be bestowed on some of the industrial members. Not from observation, for the tendency of early law (indeed of all law), is clearly much less to restrain citizens from injuring one another than to make them serve the central power which, if they are at all inclined to aggression upon other communities, takes the lead in that. Not from experiment, for the Klondike settlers were, like all those of such regions, very largely ruffians of most dangerous character; but, a lucky accident having prevented them from setting up a government like other communities of similar propensity, the Klondike is far less troubled with crime, not only than other frontier outposts, but even than the best officered portions of the most industrious enlightened cities, such as London, New York, or Chicago (I)! Moreover, the opinion is already unanimous that governments are indispensable to successful aggression—a point on which successful aggressors are themselves little likely to be deceived. Yet we have undertaken to prove the correctness of this opinion, and with it the exclusively practical origin and character of governments, by showing that, other things equal, the greater success in wars of aggression does go with the better organized or stronger government.

The reader will scarcely fail to perceive that the conditions of the problem are very complicated, and to disentangle them may not always be practicable. Wherever there has been a war of aggression we should, for the purpose of complete induction, inquire (1) how far it succeeded?; (2) how strong was the national authority of the aggressors?; (3) how strong was that of some one else who, more or less successfully as may be, undertook a similar enterprise?; (4) if even there were no attempt exactly similar, how far will anything else serve the purpose of comparison?, (5) how, in such a case, did the internal condition of that state put on its defense compare with the internal condition of some other selected as a parallel? The third inquiry is often without data; and in all such cases the quantitative comparisons become very uncertain. We cannot therefore, here, carry the analysis to quite such crucial results as elsewhere.

If, however, large and plain instances may do for lack of something better, our task is easy enough. Of all nations, ancient and modern, which does every one think about as the typical example of a conquering people? No doubt the Romans. Of all other people, who have shown the mightiest genius for government; so that, centuries after their political power succumbed to physical exhaustion, they were able to build up a spiritual power which almost dominates the world? It is impossible to make another answer than, the Romans. On the other hand, the Celts, though a pugnacious people, much addicted to raids on the territory of neighboring nations; an intelligent people, who very early acquired considerable proficiency in the arts; and a great people, once generally diffused over Gaul, Spain, Northern Italy, probably what is now Germany (Bohemia is a Celtic name), Greece (the Pelasgi), and Southern Russia (Cimmeria cf. Cymry); never, within the age of records, effected an important conquest, unless Galatia can be considered an exception. They have always appeared singularly deficient in the art of government, their "cantons" having none, and being very loosely when at all united.

The Tuetonic races have not much genius for government, as shown by the generally disorganized condition of their countries (Germany, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia). But they have some; and situations called it forth in those colonies which they planted among hostile populations (the Vandals in Africa, the Gottes in Spain, the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, the Normans in many parts of Europe, the Franks in Gaul). With the exception of the Astro Goths in Italy, all these became great conquering nations of the Dark or later ages. Germany and Scandinavia, for all their exuberant and warlike population, never did that; or if the Prussianized empire of our time did note that it began to conquer abroad at the same time it became united within. Few are likely to doubt that the Germans and Scandinavians failed in that career of conquest pointed out by their Othos, Barbarossas, and Vasas, because they were so refractory to their own sovereigns.

Rather similarly, the ancient Greeks, a warlike people, migratory, adventurous, and far superior to their contemporaries in those arts of aggression which anarchy may share with government, were never a great conquering people, except during the short time when they were united by the genius of Philip, and directed by that of Alexander. In their struggles for supremacy over one another, success is always associated with the name of some vigorous ruler, Penander, Polycrates, Iysander, Epaminondas, never with that of a reformer in the direction of liberty like Cleisthenes, Ephialtes, Thrasybelus, or Agis. The people of Arabia and Tartay seem by their character and situation predestined for great conquerors; and such they have frequently become; but always either under the personal lead of a powerful ruler, like Attila, Genghis, Timor, Baber, or under a system which enabled its founder — Mahomet, Ertogonhl — to govern, though dead, through deputies and successors, who inherited what he made. If we seek an example of their overspreading a country by private immigration, as the Saxons overspread America, or the Chinese race, by degrees, the Flowery Kingdom, we shall find only one. The Arabs overspread a considerable part of Africa in that manner, which proves that they are by no means deficient in the merchants' or planters' way of conquering. That they could do so only among such a backward people as the negroes, while, under their energetic Caliphs, they conquered, from the Loire to the Indus, a hundred nations more civilized than themselves, is surely signal proof that government, for the purpose of conquest, possesses an immense advantage over anarchy. The mention of the Chinese reminds me that in their long and reliable history they have from time to time extended their borders to the Caspian (always under able emperors). But more frequently (under ordinary ones) have been content to keep out Tartar invasion, which occasionally proved too much for them (under sovereigns who inherited despotic power, but not the talent requisite to secure it.)

The mighty empire of Persia owed its extent to the genius of Cyrus and Darius. After the latter it received no accessions, and our accounts indicate constantly increasing weakness of authority during the long period which preceded its dissolution.

This review includes all the more important conquests about which we know enough to state their causes. Those of the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian kings are obscure, the others petty. It very strongly indicates that success in conquest depends on well-organized government; and that nations the most disposed to conquer fail, if their own disobedience to rules makes their domestic authority weak. As all nations, except the isolated and anarchistic communities elsewhere mentioned, have persistently tried to enlarge their borders, this is quite enough to account for that desire to be governed which, notwithstanding man's refractory temper, has generally characterized him throughout his barbarous past.

C. L. James.

LOVE THE MEASURE OF OUR VITAL ENERGIES.

(By Max Nordau.)

(Continued from last week.)

The radical change that has taken place in our conception of morality, is the consequence of the influence gained by the ideas of Christianity over the mind of civilized mankind.

The fundamental doctrine of Christianity as they are proclaimed in the earliest writings contradict each other in the most astonishing manner; they are based upon two opposing assertions which would have debarred each each other absolutely, if Christianity had been founded by a logical thinker, with a clear understanding. On the one side it preaches: Love thy neighbor as thyself, love even thine enemies; on the other, it declares that the end of the world is at hand, and that lusts of the flesh are the most deadly sins, abstinence the most pleasing to God of all virtues, and absolute chatsity the most desirainty preached the love of one's neighbor it raised the natural instinct of man's fellowship with his kind not a religious commandment and promoted the perpetuation and prosperity of the human race; but when, at the same time, it condemned sexual love, it destroyed its own work, sentenced mankind to annihilation and placed itself in opposition to nature with an hostility which seems born of the devil, to use one of its own expressions. The doctrine of love for one's neighbor conquered humanity, because it appealed to its mots powerful instinct, the impulse of the preservation of the race. The doctrine of celibacy, on the contrary, would have prevented the spread of the new religion completely, and if it had not been for the fact that it appeared at a time when society had become thoroughly corrupt, when licentious egotism alone was ruling supreme and the relations between the sexes diverted from their purpose of reproducing the species, and become degraded into a sourc of selfish enjoyment alone, polluted by all manner of crimes, so that it seemed an abomination to the conscience of the good. When this state of things became altered, when Christianity was no longer the reaction from the moral corruption of ancient Rome, it ceased to consider it necessary to protect against the excesses of immorality by an excess of purity, and the dismal, inhuman doctrine of celibacy was forced into the background, the church ceased to exact it from all but a few of its children, the priests and the nuns, and even made the concession to nature of elevating marriage into a sacrament.

(Continued next week.)

Don't fail to attend meeting at 224 Blue Island Ave., Sunday, March 17, and settle for your tickets.

CO-OPERATION.

By Viola Richardson.
In "To-Morrow."

The world today is one vast miracle of man's achievements. Wherever we turn we find the results of his energy, his indomitable will, his persistence, his ingenuity. He has laid his hand upon the mighty forces of nature and learned to utilize them in the extension of his thought, so that he becomes a creator, filling the world with new expressions of force and law. Even the construction and manipulation of the simplest machine must take into account laws and forces which thread the universe from the tiny grain of sand at our feet to the remotest star, and only to the extent to which man allies himself with this universal law and order is his thought productive and effective.

The flow of rivers, the dashing of waterfalls, the sprouting of grasses and budding of leaves and flowers, the ripening of fruits and grains, the glory of autumn, the falling of leaves and their slow decay to become nourishment for other like forms, forests with their sweet and solemn music, clouds and rain and snow, the sun and moon and stars—running through all these we see a law so sure that it endures forever, so all enfolding that not the tiniest leaf that falls can escape from it, so compelling that man, though he defy every man-made law that has ever been formulated, must obey it. His obedience may be a blind obedience, but whether blindly or consciously, it is obedience none the less.

Through the material universe we see one great harmony—an interdependence that makes all things necessary and inevitable in their time and place—each being a tone in the universal song.

To the savage who shaped his stone arrow heads and wore skins for clothing and kindled fire by striking flint or by rubbing pieces of wood together, the wondrous forces about him were hidden and he responded with hardly more consciousness of them than did the bird building its nest, or the deer stealing timidly through the forest seeking food and water; and the power he put forth was simply the power of the individual. Man today has his power multiplied many fold by his consciousness of some of nature's powers, and a knowledge of how to ally himself with them.

All the wonderful inventions by which work is simplified and facilitated in mines, in factories, on farms, in our wonderful and intricate systems of transportation and distribution, our methods of communications over long distance, even the modern home with its heat and light and water, are made possible by the utilizing of nature's forces in harmony with her laws.

We see, then, that in the world of nature, as distinguished from that of man, there is a universe of mutual helpfulness, law linked unto law, and form nourishing form, and that any single manifestation is the product of the co-operation of many forces working through many channels. The violet is a child of sun and earth and wind and rain, and other forms like itself lovingly nourish it, and it in turn nourishes that which is to follow.

When we come to contemplate man as a conscious being, we find that the simplest accomplishment of his involves the use of some one or more of the invisible forces about him, and the forms through which nature manifests herself. As his achievements increase in complexity they involve not only the laws about him but the help of other men, so that at the present time we find that any single enterprise requires the assistance of many human beings to perfect it and carry it out in completeness.

Take any institution, and we find that from the very first moment of construction up to completion and the doing of its work, it could not possibly be wrought out by any one man, but that on the contrary it has required the labor and thought of many men who have co-operated to the extent that the work of each supplemented the work of some other, each being thus aided and permitted to do his work.

We find, then, that man comes under the law that the unconscious world about him does, and that human units in the exercise of their power must be mutually helpful, just as the wind and the rain and the sun and all forces help each other.

But here is the paradox—that while men work together in the creation and maintenance of our institutions, (must in the very nature of things do so), they do not realize that they are working together for a common purpose. Subconsciously they co-operate in all the activities of life; but consciously they think and work as individuals, for purely personal ends. Even those who stand at the head of great institutions, planning and directing these creations wrought out of man's thought and power acting in harmony with nature's forces—even they do not comprehend the meaning of it all, nor realize how the union of individual power has wrought this great thing out and maintained it—that it is a result of co-operation which extends all along the line from the humblest worker to the highest official and that each and all are entitled to full returns. The unit works as an individual and sees only the little portion that passes through his own hands. Even the general utility of the great corporation is not generally perceived, and becomes a purely incidental and accidental thing.

The one thing upon which life and thought are centered is not how to find greater expression and make life's horizon continually wider, nor how to supplement the work of others so as to increase the general welfare—but instead the purpose of each individual is to so tap the institution as to divert to himself personally all the benefit he can. Those who work side by side for this great common purpose of which they lose sight, or rather, which they have never seen, contend with one another in the struggle to get, each for himself, the greatest benefit, even at the expense of his fellow workers.

Here and there society creates men who know how to so manipulate affairs as to divert the bulk of benefits into their own hands—and they become owners of houses and lands, food and clothing—all the things upon which human life and comfort depend—and with the ownership of these vast material things they draw to themselves power over the life of their fellow beings, whose labor helps to produce this material wealth.

The strongest active conscious force in human society today is this tendency to draw to self, irrespective of the general good, all one can of the goods and power of the earth.

This spirit of competition has touched and tainted almost every emotion and impulse and relationship of human life. We call men great who have amassed to themselves immense wealth with its attendant power, and we define success in terms of Dollars.

There are great armies of men and women and children who spend almost the whole of their waking hours in a monotonous round of work, often in an atmosphere poisoned with chemicals and dust, that deadens and stupefies and stunts physical, mental and spiritual growth; and whose homes are bare of even the ordinary necessities for comfort, cleanliness and health.

On the other hand there are men and women and children who live in the most exquisite comfort, feast on the finest foods, dress in the costliest fabrics, deny themselves no luxury, pleasure or service that money can buy, but they do not work.

Yet this world of ours has within it enough in the way of material to clothe and feed and shelter every man and woman and child—nature's forces are so great that in using them intelligently man can create from the natural forms comforts and luxuries sufficient for all—and so prlific is nature, both in her forces and her forms, that man, laboring intelligently need give only a few hours a day to the production of the things required for his needs, instead of spending, as he now does, the whole of his waking hours in labor that deadens his faculties and his sensibilities, consumes the whole of his life and energies and makes of him but little more than an animal.

No thoughtful person can fail to see that there must be co-operation in order to carry on a single one of the activities of our present civilization—we see it on every hand, and we know that it extends throughout all activities. Nor can any thoughtful person doubt that the general good would be better served and the individualual happiness and comfort increased many fold, iw people co-operated consciously and intelligently, and if co-operation extended not only to labor in production and distribution, but to the sharing in the production.

In other words, when each individual is able to see himself as part of a great social organism and realized that by working in harmony with the other units of the mass he may increase both the individual happiness and the general welfare, the conditions of life would change from the extremes of poverty and its sufferings on the one hand, and wealth and useless idleness on the other, to comfort and healthful occupation and restful relaxation for all, and the desire for inequality (special privilege) would disappear.

People cannot be legislated into a realization of their true relationship—there is but one law by which the spirit of competition with all its heartlessness and inhumanity can be replaced by the spirit of co-operation, and this is the law of **love.**

It is a law that each must learn for himself, and in each of us **learning to live it** lies the hope of the salvation of human kind from the intolerable burdens that weigh it down. It is an individual lesson with a universal application—to learn to live by the **Law of Love—to live in the spirit of true Brotherhood.**

RICH DOGS! POOR CHILDREN.

Rich Dog's Daily Program.

7:00—Arise for the day; rub down.

7:30—Walk with master, led by six-foot chain.

8:00 — Breakfast — porterhouse steak, mush, and cream.

8:30—Leisure hour, phonograph music; may resort to Browning or Byron.

10:00—Morning nap.

11:00—Airing in backyard under heavy guard while boudoir is arranged for the day.

12:00 — Dinner — Sirloin beef, sweetbreads (Bill is especially fond of the latter), medicated dog cakes for dog scurfy (Bill is 10 years old).

1:00—Bath—Florida water and dog soap.

3:00—Afternoon nap.

4:00 — Afternoon airing, walk with master.

5:00—Call of official veterinarian, Dr. Campbell.

6:30—Supper—beef tea, breaded veal chops, and chicken bones.

7:00—Retire to kennel; sleep on silk cushions.

This regime is the daily program, beginning today, for Bill Watts, the wealthiest dog in Chicago, and probably in America. The program has been agreed upon by the official master, James Mayfield, and the official doctor, Dr. Campbell, both of whom at present reside at "Bill's" headquarters, Dr. Campbell's livery barn, Forty-seventh street and Grand boulevard.

By the will of the late George C. Watts, former contractor and board of trade operator, which was filed yesterday in the Probate court, Mr. Watts' favorite pet, "Bill", a fox terrior, was bequeathed $20,000 for his keeping the rest of life. Mr. Watts' horse was willed the annuity of $300 for his keeping the rest of his days. The horse is 20 years old. His name is "King."—Chicago Paper, March 13.

Maybe the farmers can get some kind of an idea of what becomes of the grain that they grow in the sweat of their brows by studying the wanton waste of this particular operator on the Board of Trade. There are thousands of little children in Chicago and other cities who haven't decent clothing to go to school. How many of them would this $20,000 feed and clothe, keep in warmth that they might acquire an education? How many lifetimes would be required for the fathers of these children to get possession of $20,300, receiving the wages that they get? Can any one wonder that young boys start out to get "easy money" when they read of such extravagances as this by the rich loafers who never perform a stroke of honest labor?

History informs us that in the last days of the Roman Empire the rich became so insanely vulgar and extravagant that they dressed their horses in silken robes and built palaces for them, while the people starved, but a day of reckoning came at last for Rome, so it will for America. The sleeping giant will awake some day; then look out!

Don't fail to attend meeting at 224 Blue Island Ave., Sunday, March 17, and settle for your tickets.

ALBERT PARSONS' SPEECH.

(Continued from Page 1.)

for conspiracy every man who strikes and summarily lock him up. This method would undoubtedly strike a wholesome terror into the hearts of the working classes. Anotherway suggested is to pick out the leaders and make such an example of them as would scare others into submission." This was the 25th of April, an editorial in the New York Times, written in view of the contemplated strike on the 1st of May for eight hours. The New York Tribune, now no longer the oracle of the great American, Horace Greeley, that defender of oppresser humanity, but the servile organ of the most oppressive forms of monopoly, said just about this time in an editorial: "The best policy would be to drive workingmen into open mutiny against the law." The New York Herald, at that date suggested by its contemporaries to make examples of the leaders in the short hour movment, said: "Two hours taken from ten hours of labor throughout the United States by the proposed short hour movement would make a difference annually of hundreds of millions in value, both to the capital invested in industries and to existing stock." The issue of the hour, then, with the New York and Chicago Stock Exchanges and Board of Trade and Produce Exchanges was how to preserve the steadiness of the market and maintain the fictitious values then and there rapidly falling under the paralyzing influences of the simultaneous eight hour demand throughout the United States.

Your honor, so common is this impression among people, so common is this belief among the labor organizations and workingmen of this country, that I wish to impress upon you the view which I present. I am a member of the Knights of Labor, that is an organization of nearly a million and a half American workingmen. I am a member of my union, the Printer's Union, and have been for fourteen years in the city of Chicago. This is a national and international organization with some sixty odd thousand members in the United States. These organizations publish a great many newspapers in America, and every single one of them believes that that bomb at the Haymarket was instigated by the monopolists to break down the eight hour movement. Hear our side. You have heard the Citizen's Association's side of this question, you have heard the banker's side, you have heard the railway magnate's side, you have heard the Board of Trade's side; I ask you now to listen also to the side of the workers. I might read you here extract after extract from these papers to show you that what I state is true. I will read you one among the many I have. The *Knights of Labor*, a paper printed in the city of Chicago by the Knights of Labor, says: "It would seem that Pinkerton's Detective Agency has contracted to carry out this policy, and to at least make the public believe that workingmen are rebels against the law. It may not be long until people will see that those detective gangs, instead of being gangs of peace, are really the agencies of monopolies to trump up charges and produce public sentiment against the popular movements of the people." Now, on this subject, a paper printed at Marinette, Wis., the Marinette Eagle, says: "The blowing up of the street cars in St. Louis by dpnamite during the strike there last summer was directly traceable to Pinkerton's agents, who put up the job. Gould's officials once tore down and destroyed a telegraph pole, and the satanic press made but a feeble remonstrance while the perpetrators of the dastardly act were never prosecuted, and yet the wage earners are called Anarchists." As I said before, I could quote and take up a great deal of time in quoting and reading the sentiments of anti-monopoly, greenback, labor, Knights of Labor, Trade Union and Socialits newspapers, holding the monopolists responsible for this act in the United States. I will not take up your time, but I will call your attention in this connection to one thing.

(Continued next week.)

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY THE ANARCHISTS' CONGRESS, HELD IN PITTSBURG, PA.

To the Workingmen of America.

Fellow-Workmen: The Declaration of Independence says:

"* * * But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such Government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to reassert their declaration?

Fellow-workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you to candidly read the following manifesto issued in your behalf; in behalf of your wives and children; in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the exploitation of the propertyless by the propertied. The exploitation is such that the propertied (capitalist) buy the working force, body and soul, of the propertyless, for the price of the mere cost of existence (wages), and take for themselves (i. e., steal) of working force increase constantly, while the demand therefore decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink, or at least on the average never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the propertied, by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they have to speculate upon and absorb the labor product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle generally the less-propertied (middle class) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of production, as well as trade and inter-communication, into their hands, and develop into monopolies. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called "business" and "commercial" crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration: The last census of the United States shows that after deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rents, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed—i. e., stolen—more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, are unable to consume their enormous "profits," and the producers unable to consume more than they receive—three-eighths —so-called "overproductions" must necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized and is driven to "crime," vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane, and murderous. It is, therefore, necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existense by his inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains. As the economic condition is the same in all countries of so-calleld "civilization;" as the Governments of all Monarchies and Republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers; as, finally, the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society—so, therefore, the international fraternity of people as expressed in the International Working People's Association presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor, the soil and other premises of production—in short, capital produced by labor—is changed into societary property. Only by this transposition will be removed every possibility of the future spoliation of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fullness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can everyone be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can supply their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes—be they Monarchies or Republics—form the barriers. These political structures (States), which are completely in the hands of the propertied, have no other purpose than the upholding by force the present disorder of exploitation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is mainly directed to such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance, and servility; in short, want of sense. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeois of all countries—in America as well as in Europe—constantly commit, as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their condition. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeois will be of a violent revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons:

The political institutions of our time are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions to us we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our master for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one recourse—force! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immemorial example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is, therefore, your right, it is your duty," says Jefferson, "to arm!"

What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

First—Destruction of the existing class rule by all means—i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

Second—Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third—Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

Fourth—Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth—Equal rights for all, without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth—Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) Communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Whoever agrees with this idea let him grasp our outstretched brotherhands!

Proletarians from all countries, unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is organization and unity.

The day has come for solidarity! Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle: "Workmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to win!"

Issued by the Pittsburg Congress of the International Working Peoples' Association, on October 16, 1883.

CORRESPONDENCE

SOCIETY.

B. C. 820 vs. A. D. 1906.

Society is a shopkeeper.—*Hugo.*

Twenty-seven centuries ago, the history narates to us that Lycurgus has seen that the territory of Sparta was in a prodigious inequality overcharged with many indigent persons who had no land, no property, and the wealth centered in the hands of a few. Crimes and robberies became therefore more and more frequent. Determined therefore to root out the evils of indolence, envy, avarice and luxury, and those distempers of a state still more inveterate and fatal, i. e., poverty and riches. He persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land, and to make new ones, in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living.

His proposal was put in practice. He made nine thousand lots for the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and thirty thousand for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia.

After this he attempted to divide also the movables, in order to take away all appearances of inequality; but he soon perceived that they could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them, and therefore took another method, counterworking their avarice by a stratagem. First he stopped the circulation of gold and silver coin, and ordered that they make use of iron money only. Then to a great quantity and weight of this he assigned but a small value, so that to lay up ten minac (Spartan currency), a whole room was required and to remove it, nothing less than a yoke of oxen. When this became current who would steal or take a bribe, who would defraud or rob when he could not conceal the booty.

And this is what Lycurgus thought would cure the evil in the era 820 B. C.

Now we are living in the era of the 20th century and again we find society in a prodigious inequality, overcharged with many indigent persons who have no land or property and the wealth centered in the hands of a few.

On one side we see the few the owners of everything living in luxury and riches and producing nothing.

On the other side we see the many producing everything, all the good things of life, living in misery, in destitution, being driven by want and hunger to the extreme—to resort to any means in order to procure food and shelter.

Reading the dailies about holdups and crimes committed recently in Chicago, then we are confronted with the question, What is the object of the holdups and criminals, and we come to the conclusion that most of the crimes are the object and purpose to gain property. Now what are reformers and legislators telling us. They are telling us that the cause of crime is the dramshop. What is their cure? Well, a bigger police force; and to pay the police force they are telling us we shall raise the license of the saloons and this will pay and this will check crime, and this is their earnest opinion.

It's a fact that the New York saloon license is bigger than in Chicago. New York has a bigger police force comparatively to the population than Chicago, and crime is frequent as ever. The fact is that the poor workingman is paying the license of the saloonkeeper by paying more for his beer.

Our reformers are not willing to recognize the fact that the present system of inequality has something to do with this problem (crime). Property is highway robbery.

Abolish property and you have abolished robbery.

JEAN SPIELMAN.

REPLY: We of this 20th century can derive a very little consolation from the policy of the government of Sparta, which was a despotism pure and simple. When Lycurgis spoke of the "Spartan people," no account was taken of the poor Herlots, whom the young bloods of Spartar regarded as so much sport to kill off thousands of them the same as our young bloods of today hunt foxes or wolves, bears or any other animals.

When the writer says, "Abolish property and you have abolished robbery," he evidently means *private property* or else it will be necessary for him to define what he means by the term "property."

The Liberator Pub'g Group,
Chicago, Ill.

Comrades—I regret very much that The Liberator has had to suspend publication even temporarily and I, for one, am anxious to see it be able to continue until every reader is convinced of the necessity of the line of action for which it stands.

The mission of the Liberator to my mind, is to educate the proletariat of this country to be as radical in the preservation of their class interests as the capitalist class have shown themselves to be in the case of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

I enclose herewith a small contribution and hope in the words of Parsons that you "will never tire in advocating our high principles, in the warfare between cowardice and tyranny; never cease until the American people know "why they were murdered and the class fanatics characterizing their condemnation is understood".

With best wishes, I am,
Yours for the Revolution,
Albert Ryan.

The Necktie Party, given by The Liberator Group was a great success; everybody enjoyed themselves immensely! The neckties were beautiful and the boys bid on them at the auction sale in most laughable and spirited manner. Comrade Copgysnki came down from Milwaukee, Wis., to get a tie. He bid in a beautiful red one which he exhibited with great pride. We were too busy to see which girl's apron matched his tie, but no doubt she was one of our many pretty girls who were present, and as Comrade Copgysnki himself is as "pretty as a picture," he deserved a pretty partner also. Our social, from a financial standpoint, was not what we had reason to expect, owing to the fact that the church fanatics are having things all their own way in Chicago just now. For this reason we could not sell any refreshments from which we could make a profit, consequently our net profits were small compared with our former undertakings of a like kind. Nevertheless we are not complaining, as profit is not the sole object of The Liberator's entertainments, but they are as much for the purpose of bringing comrades and friends together and cultivating a fraternal feeling among them as making money for the support of the paper, and in the feature of sociability they are very successful.

We expect by the time we give another social that the hysterical wave of fanaticism now sweeping over this city will have subsided and we will be able to do much better, financially.

Professor Wiley, called the pure food expert because he finds only impure food, "trembles when he approaches the breakfast table." There is poison in the cup and on the plate, poison in the loaf and in the peach, poison in the egg and poison in the pie. Yet the professor should not tremble at this. It is a sign that he will be a long time working himself out of a job.

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Liberator Group Meeting.

The Liberator Group will meet next Sunday at 2:30 p. m. in Newman's Hall, 224 Blue Island Ave. Comrade Jean Cpielman will lecture. Comrades are especially invited to attend, as there will be a meeting to discuss sending delegates to a convention to consider the best course to persue regarding the case of Moyer, Haywood and the others. So don't fail to attend. And all holding tickets from the last social must come and settle for the same, as we need the money for the paper.

Liberator Group, New York.

The Liberator Group of New York meets every first and third Sunday of the month at 415 Grand St., first floor, at 8 p. m. sharp.

Those interested in the English propaganda are earnestly requested to come to our meetings.

ROLL CALL.

Chicago Debature Club	$5.00
H. Wetstien	.50
I. Preluzky	.50
M. Epstain	.50
A. Bergman	1.00
M. Philips	.50
Geo. Pyburn	.50
From Spring Valley, Ill., by I. Corna	1.85
Karl Weiss, Milwaukee, Collected by Leo Kopgynsky	.50 3.50
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Joe Monacy	1.00
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From SanFrancisco, by A. Wilbers	6.25
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RULERSHIP.

Weaklings who throw up their hands to be manacled and chained to any "archie" (rulership) whatever, be the same a "mon-archie" or a pluarchie, such as our capitalistic mob-rulership (mob-archie), or even a social "archie," which is proposed state Socialists, are "archists." On the other hand, men of free impulses in denying all manner of servitude most logically reject all rulership or "archies," and are, therefore, Anarchists.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED.

We have received the following pamphlets from England, and recommend them to all who are studying Anarchism:

Law and Authority — By Peter Kropotkin 10c
The Wage System—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Anarchist Communism — By Peter Kropotkin 10c
The State—Its Historic Role—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Anarchist Morality — By Peter Kropotkin 10c
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The Coming Revival of Socialism—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
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The Commune of Paris 10c
Organized Vengeance Called Justice—By Peter Kropotkin....10c
The Superstition—By Peter Kropotkin 10c
Social General Strike. This pamphlet should be in the hands of every wage worker 5c
Evolution and Revolution—By Elisee Reclus 5c
History of the French Revolution—By C. L. James.....60c

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BOOKS

We request our readers to read carefully our book list, and if there are any books which you care for, just order from Liberator and they will be forwarded at once. Remember the price of the book and postage must be sent with each order. The books and pamphlets that we list can all be relied upon as standard works of real educational value. We will add to our list from time to time until we have a most complete list of standard works. By ordering from us you will be assisting in the continuation of The Liberator.

Loves Coming of Age .....
.....Edward Carpenter $1.00

THE BOOKS OF CLARENCE S. DARROW.

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It is a startling arraignment of the doctrines of force and punishment.—St. Paul Pioneer Press.

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Their high literary merit and charming style render them worth reading, even by those who disagree fundamentally with Mr. Darrow's philosophy.—Chicago Record-Herald.

Farmington.

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12mo, cloth, 277 pages, $1.50, postpaid.

The book is very charming, and in much very true. Not a man who has been a real country boy, or who has been cheated by his elders (always with the best motives) of being all the boy he might have been, but, if he has grown up to be ripe enough, will seem to find himself again in many of Mr. Darrow's pages. Our impression is that Mr. Darrow has shown real art in the handling of one of the most difficult forms of literature.—The New York Times Saturday Review.

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